

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 019616

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USINT BAGHDAD

UNCLAS STATE 019616

FOLLOWING SECSTATE 019616 SENT ACTION ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH
ASIAN DIP POSTS NOUAKCHOTT KHARTOUM MOGADISCIO PARIS ROME LONDON
DUBLIN BRUSSELS BONN COPENHAGEN LUXEMBOURG THE HAGUE PAKING MOSCOW
GEORGETOWN TOKYO STOCKHOLM DAR ES SALAAM COTONOU BUCHAREST PANAMA
INFO USUN JANUARY 27 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

UNCLAS STATE 019616

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, US, XF

SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT OF STATE PRESS RELEASE ON THE MIDDLE
EAST

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE
EAST ISSUED JANUARY 26 BY THE DEPARTMENT.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S CONSIDERATION
OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, IT IS IMPORTANT TO TURN FROM
THE DEBATES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN NEW YORK AND LOOK TO
THE YEAR AHEAD. IN DOING SO WE MUST ASK OURSELVES, WHERE
HAS THIS DEBATE LEFT US IN OUR SEARCH FOR A MIDDLE EAST
PEACE? THE UNITED STATES HAS PERHAPS A PARTICULAR
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 019616

RESPONSIBILITY TO DO THIS BECAUSE, IN BEING FAITHFUL
TO ITS CONCEPT OF THE SEARCH FOR PEACE, IT HAS FELT
OBLIGED TO VETO A RESOLUTION THAT OTHERS BELIEVED MAPPED
OUT A PREFERABLE ROUTE. WE DID NOT DO SO LIGHTLY, NOR

IN A SPIRIT OF NEGATION. WE BELIEVED THAT WITH THIS RESOLUTION THE COUNCIL WOULD HAVE BLOCKED THE SURER AND THE TESTED WAY TO A SETTLEMENT IN FAVOR OF ONE THAT WOULD NOT HAVE WORKED. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT IT BE UNDERSTOOD WHY WE BELIEVED THIS TO BE THE CASE, AND, MORE ESPECIALLY, HOW WE SEE THE PROCESS CONTINUING WITHIN

THE FRAMEWORK THAT WE HAVE, WITH OUR VOTE, PRESERVED.

THERE IS SURELY NO OTHER PROBLEM OF OUR TIME THAT HAS SEEN SO MUCH EFFORT DEVOTED TO A SOLUTION, AND WHERE THE SUCCESSES AND THE FAILURES ARE SO EVIDENT AS GUIDES FOR OUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS. THERE HAS BEEN NO LACK OF RESOLUTIONS, NO LACK OF PLANS, BUT LOOKING BACK OVER THE YEARS WE CAN DISCERN THOSE FEW DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAVE GRADUALLY CONSTRUCTED A BASIS -- A FRAMEWORK -- FOR WHATEVER PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN ALL THIS TIME.

IN 1967 THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEVISED RESOLUTION 242, THAT CONTAINED THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD BE APPLIED IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, TERMINATION OF ALL CLAIMS AND STATES OF BELLIGERENCY, ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA, AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF EVERY STATE TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES FREE FROM THREATS OR ACTS OF FORCE. THE COMPREHENSIVENESS, FAIRNESS, AND BALANCE OF RESOLUTION 242 HAVE WON IT ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE MIDDLE EAST STATES DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT IN ADDITION TO APPROVAL BY THE OUTSIDE WORLD. ONE OF THE GREAT VALUES OF THE RESOLUTION IS ITS WIDE ACCEPTANCE, DESPITE THE DIFFERENCES EACH SIDE HAS OVER ITS MEANING.

IN 1973, THE SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVED A RESOLUTION
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 019616

THAT COMPLEMENTED RESOLUTION 242 BY ESTABLISHING A NEGOTIATING PROCESS BETWEEN THE PARTIES AS THE MEANS OF IMPLEMENTING THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THE EARLIER RESOLUTION. THIS WAS, OF COURSE, RESOLUTION 338, WHICH ALSO WON WIDE ACCEPTANCE AND, WITH RESOLUTION 242, FORMED A NEGOTIATING BASIS AND FRAMEWORK THAT HAD BEEN LACKING SINCE THE EARLY YEARS OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM.

THE DECISION WAS THEN TAKEN TO PROVIDE A SPECIFIC FORUM -- A CONCRETE CONTEXT -- FOR THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THE PARTIES AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN A CONFERENCE AT GENEVA UNDER THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES

AND THE SOVIET UNION. THE NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE REFLECTED RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, IF IT WAS TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS, HAD TO BE BASED ON THE CONSENT AND VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE PARTIES. THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE,

ACCORDINGLY, WAS ITSELF A MATTER FOR AGREEMENT AMONG ALL THE PARTIES.

FINALLY, AS THE PARTIES CONFRONTED THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEM, THEY DECIDED TO APPROACH IT IN STAGES RATHER THAN ALL AT ONCE. THE UNITED STATES WAS PLEASED THAT, AT THE REQUEST OF THE PARTIES, IT COULD PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE IN THIS STEP-BY-STEP NEGOTIATING PROCESS, KEEPING ALWAYS IN MIND THAT EACH STEP WAS TAKEN WITHIN THE GENEVA FRAMEWORK AND WITH A VIEW TO ENSURING THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. IT WAS ALWAYS RECOGNIZED THAT MOVING DIRECTLY TO AN OVERALL APPROACH WAS AN ALTERNATIVE TO WHICH THE PARTIES COULD TURN AT ANY TIME, AND THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT, WHATEVER THE APPROACH, WAS THE END GOAL OF ALL CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE U.S.

AND WHAT WAS THE RESULT? FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 25 OR MORE YEARS GENUINE PROGRESS WAS MADE TOWARD A RESOLUTION OF THE IMMENSELY DEEP AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS THAT CONSTITUTE THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION. THROUGH THE COURAGE AND STATESMANSHIP OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF EGYPT, UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 019616

ISRAEL, AND SYRIA, AND WORKING WITHIN THIS COMMON FRAMEWORK, AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED, CONCESSIONS MADE IN RETURN FOR OTHER CONCESSIONS; LAND WAS RETURNED ON THE BASIS OF BINDING AGREEMENTS.

LESS TANGIBLE, BUT PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT, WAS THE PROGRESS IN THE ATTITUDES OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. IN THE LONG HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT IT IS A NEW AND RELATIVELY RECENT DEVELOPMENT THAT OPINION IN THE ARAB WORLD HAS BEGUN TO THINK IN TERMS OF RECOGNIZING A SOVEREIGN ISRAEL AND THAT ISRAEL HAS BEGUN TO SEE PEACE AS A TANGIBLE GOAL RATHER THAN A DISTANT HOPE. WE ARE FULLY AWARE THAT ONLY A START HAS BEEN MADE, THAT MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN TO BE DEALT WITH AND RESOLVED. IT WAS THE NATURE OF THE PROCESS THAT THE EASIER ISSUES WOULD BE DEALT WITH FIRST AND THE MORE DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX LEFT UNTIL LATER, WHEN THE MOMENTUM OF THE PROCESS ITSELF WOULD BE WORKING FOR US. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO DEVOTE ITSELF TO THE RESOLUTION OF THESE REMAINING ISSUES AS IT HAS TO THE ISSUES THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN RESOLVED.

THERE WOULD BE NO CHANCE OF
FURTHER PROGRESS, HOWEVER, IF THIS NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK,
PAINFULLY ERECTED OVER YEARS OF TRIAL AND ERROR, WERE
NOT LEFT INTACT. WHATEVER ITS IMPERFECTIONS, HOWEVER

GREAT THE TEMPTATION TO TAMPER WITH THE RESOLUTIONS AND
THE GENEVA FORMULA THAT CONSTITUTE IT,
IF IT WERE PULLED APART NOW IT COULD NOT BE PUT BACK
TOGETHER, AND THE CLOCK WOULD HAVE BEEN TURNED BACK TO THE
YEARS OF FUTILITY IN WHICH NO BASIS EXISTED FOR
NEGOTIATION TO TAKE PLACE.

THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK IS SUFFICIENTLY
FLEXIBLE THAT IT CAN PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATING
FAIR AND DURABLE SOLUTIONS TO ALL THE ISSUES INVOLVED.
THE ISSUES OF WITHDRAWAL, OF BORDERS, OF THE TERMINATION
OF STATES OR CLAIMS OF BELLIGERENCY, OF RECIPROCAL
OBLIGATIONS TO PEACE, OF THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN
SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES, ALL THESE AND MORE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 019616

MUST BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED. RECIPROCITY IS A
FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT IN THIS PROCESS. ALL OF THE
PRINCIPLES MUST BE CLOTHED WITH SUBSTANCE AND GIVEN
PRACTICAL FORM. THE NATURE OF PEACE MUST BE DEFINED FOR
ALL THE PEOPLES INVOLVED.

IF THERE ARE LIMITATIONS IN THE PRESENT FRAMEWORK, THEY
RESULT FROM THE ATTITUDES OF THE PARTIES. WHAT IS
NEEDED IS THAT ALL THE PARTIES GO ON FROM HERE TO WORK
OUT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SOLUTIONS, AND THAT IF ANY
PARTY FEELS THERE IS A NEED TO RECONSIDER THE
FRAMEWORK IN ORDER TO PROCEED FURTHER, THAT THIS EMERGE
FROM NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE PARTIES IN THE GENEVA CONTEXT.

IT IS EVIDENT FROM THE DEBATE THAT LED TO THE CONVENING
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT THERE IS CONCERN ON THE PART
OF SOME OF THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE, SHARED BY MEMBERS
OF THE COUNCIL, REGARDING THOSE ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST
PROBLEM THAT RELATE PARTICULARLY TO THE PALESTINIAN
PEOPLE AND THEIR FUTURE. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT
WE WORK TO DEVELOP A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THIS
PARTICULARLY COMPLEX ISSUE. THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WAS
FOR MANY YEARS CONSIDERED PRIMARILY A REFUGEE PROBLEM.
IT IS WIDELY ACCEPTED TODAY THAT THIS IS ONLY
ONE ASPECT OF A LARGER QUESTION. THE UNITED STATES HAS
REPEATEDLY AFFIRMED ITS RECOGNITION THAT THERE WILL BE
NO PERMANENT PEACE UNLESS IT INCLUDES ARRANGEMENTS THAT
TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS
OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED
TO WORK WITH ALL THE PARTIES TOWARD A SOLUTION OF ALL
THE ISSUES YET REMAINING, INCLUDING THE ISSUE OF THE

FUTURE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. WE HAVE NO PRECONCEPTIONS AS TO THE NATURE OF SUCH A SOLUTION AS IT INVOLVES THEM, WHICH CAN ONLY BE WORKED OUT AS PART OF

THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. BUT WE RECOGNIZE THAT A SOLUTION MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THEIR ASPIRATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN IN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

THIS ISSUE, AS IS THE CASE WITH THE OTHER ISSUES, CAN BE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 019616

SUCCESSFULLY DEALT WITH, HOWEVER, ONLY BY MAINTAINING THE MOMENTUM OF PRACTICAL PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. WE LOOK TO THIS PROCESS TO CLARIFY ISSUES AND TO HELP DEVELOP A REASONABLE AND ACCEPTED DEFINITION OF PALESTINIAN INTERESTS, WITHOUT WHICH NEGOTIATION ON THIS ASPECT OF THE OVERALL PROBLEM CANNOT BE SUCCESSFULLY ADDRESSED. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT REALISTIC TO EXPECT ONE PARTY TO THE DISPUTE TO AGREE TO THE PARTICIPATION OF ANOTHER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, IF THE LATTER'S POLICY IS TO SEEK THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FORMER AS A STATE. AS FAR AS THE US IS CONCERNED, NO NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK IS VIABLE THAT CALLS THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL INTO QUESTION.

WE APPRECIATE THAT, AT THIS STAGE, THE PARTICULAR NEGOTIATING MEANS THAT HAVE BEEN USED SO SUCCESSFULLY TO DATE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES TO ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE PARTIES. WE HAVE THEREFORE

- SUGGESTED AN INFORMAL PREPARATORY CONFERENCE OF THE PRESENT GENEVA PARTIES LOOKING TOWARD A CONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, IN WHICH THE PARTIES CAN DISCUSS QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE AGENDA, PROCEDURES AND PARTICIPANTS OF THE FORMAL CONFERENCE, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR POSITIONS ON THE CONFERENCE ITSELF. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS. THE GOALS ALL WANT TO ACHIEVE CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT MOVEMENT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME THERE IS NO SHORT CUT. THEY REQUIRE THE COOPERATION OF BOTH SIDES AT EVERY STAGE.

WE UNDERSTAND ALSO THAT THE PROCESS APPEARS AT TIMES TO BE UNDULY SLOW. WHEN ONE LOOKS AT THE ISSUES THAT LIE AHEAD ONE IS TEMPTED, INDEED, TO QUESTION WHETHER WE SHALL EVER DEAL WITH THEM ALL. BUT WHEN ONE LOOKS BACK OVER THE YEARS, AND SEES HOW MUCH MORE HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN THE LAST TWO YEARS THAN IN THE QUARTER OF A CENTURY THAT CAME BEFORE, WE ARE ENCOURAGED TO HOPE THAT THE PROCESS WE ARE ENGAGED IN WILL IN FACT LEAD US WHERE WE ALL WANT TO GO. 1974 AND 1975 WERE YEARS OF

SIGNAL ACCOMPLISHMENT. THE UNITED STATES IS FIRMLY AND

IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATION OF A
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 019616

SETTLEMENT. IN KEEPING WITH THIS COMMITMENT, IT WILL
DO ALL IT CAN TO PRESS AHEAD THIS YEAR TO CONSOLIDATE WHAT
HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AND LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR RAPID
PROGRESS. WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO KEEP
OPEN AND INTACT THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK AND TO ASSIST
IN DEVELOPING A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS
THAT REMAIN BEFORE US. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT PROGRESS
LEADING TO AN EVENTUAL SOLUTION OF ALL THE ISSUES
IS POSSIBLE, UTILIZING -- AND, IN FACT, ONLY BY
UTILIZING -- THE PRESENT FRAMEWORK, AND WE ARE COMMITTED
TO ASSIST IN EVERY WAY WE CAN TO FACILITATE SUCH PROGRESS.
WE WILL BE ACTIVE IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, AND OUR EFFORTS
WILL BE SEEN TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. END TEXT.
KISSINGER UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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